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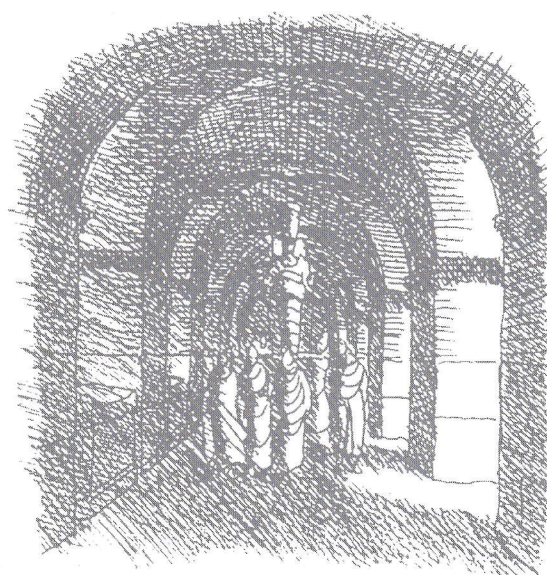
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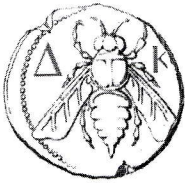
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SONDERSCHRIFTEN BAND 32

WIEN 1999



ENTER YOUR CITY! A NEW ACCLAMATION FROM EPHEOSOS*

CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

In summer 1996 I was fortunate enough to be able to visit Ephesos and spend some time studying the Late Antique inscriptions. This followed many fruitful years of generous co-operation between Aphrodisias (where I had worked previously) and Ephesos. I was therefore not surprised, but none the less delighted, by the help and welcome offered by Professor KNIBBE and his colleagues, and I am very grateful for this opportunity to offer a small note in homage to a generous scholar.

At the north-west side of the Theatre, there are the remains of a platform, apparently part of a route leading up to the north entrance of the Theatre. The area is very overgrown, but the surface is paved in marble, most of which is re-used. Among these blocks is one presenting a face 0.54 x 1.43; the depth is not measurable. The surface is flaking away badly, particularly at the lower edge; but it is clearly inscribed. The letters have flat trenches and are very irregular; measurements: 1. 1, 0.12 – 0.14 m; 1. 2, 0.05 – 0.1 m; 1. 3, 0.04 – 0.05 m (fig. 1).

ἐνθα κύ-
ρι Φλεγέθι [ἐς] τὴν
πόλιν ε[ου]

*Enter, Lord Phlegethius,
into your city.*

The text is clearly an acclamation. The twelve syllable structure — seven syllables followed by five — is one characteristic of such texts¹. Moreover, the term ἐνθα/ἐμβρα is attested as an acclamation, in the list of acclamations shouted by a crowd at Tyre in 518, which were reported to the Council of Constantinople in 536. It is used in a series urging the emperor and his officials to action².

εἰς αἰῶνας τὸ βασίλειον τοῦτο.
νικᾷ ἡ πίστις τοῦ αὐγούστου.
ἐκ θεοῦ τὸ βασίλειον τοῦτο.
νέου Κωνσταντίνου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.
ὀρθοδόξου πατρὸς πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.
ὁ μὴ λαλῶν οὐκ ἐνι πιστός.
ἃ ἐποίησεν ἡ σύνοδος, ἐμβρα ποίησον.
ἃ πέπραχθεν ἡ ἀγία τοῦ θεοῦ σύνοδος, ἐμβρα ποίησον.

* I am very grateful to all my Ephesian colleagues for their help in my work at the site, and to DENIS FEISSEL for extremely productive discussion of the note which follows.

¹ On acclamations see C. ROUECHÉ, *Acclamations in the later Roman empire: new evidence from Aphrodisias*, JRS 74 (1984) 181 – 99; EADEM, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*



Fig. 1: Acclamation from the north-west side of the Theatre

This reign for ever! May the faith of the Augustus triumph! This reign is from God! Many years for the New Constantine! Many years for the orthodox father! He who does not speak is not faithful! What the synod has done, come and do! What the holy synod of God has enacted, come and do! May the faith of

(1989) nos. 55. 59. 61. 75 – 80. 83 – 84; EADEM, *Looking for Late Antique Ceremonial: Ephesos and Aphrodisias*, in: *Eph. Symp. Wien 1995* forthcoming. JOHANNES NOLLÉ is currently preparing a study of acclamations.

² ACO III 85 – 86

νικᾷ ἡ πίστις τοῦ αὐγούστου·
 εἰς αἰῶνας τὸ βασιλείον τοῦτο.
 Βιταλιανοῦ πατρικίου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη
 Βιταλιανοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη
 Ἐπιφανίου ὀρθοδόξου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη
 ἔμβα ἀναθεμάτισον καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες·
 ἔμβα ἀναθεμάτισον καθὼς καὶ ἡ σύνοδος·
 ἔμβα ἀναθεμάτισον Σεβήρον καὶ τὸν μανδρίτην·
 ἔμβα ἀναθεμάτισον Σεβήρον καὶ Ἰωάννην.

The same phrase occurs a little later:

ἔμβα ἀναθεμάτισον, ὡς ὁ Ῥώμης πατριάρχης.

*Come and anathematise as does the patriarch of Rome!*³

In those acclamations I have translated ἔμβα as *come and*; it precedes another verb in the imperative (ποίησον, ἀναθεμάτισον), without a connective, and apparently serves to emphasize it. The word might mean no more than ἄγε, *come on*. But its associations seem to be with performance and contest. It is used to invite someone on stage by Aristophanes, and Eustathius refers to this sense when he comments on the Homeric ἔμβητον.

“Ορα δὲ τὸ “ἔμβητον”, ὅπερ τοῖς νῦν ἀνθρώποις εἰς κοινολεξίαν κεῖται, λαμβανόμενον ἐπὶ ἐναγωνίου σπουδῆς, ὡς τοῦ ἀγωνιζομένου ἐκ τοῦ ἔξω εἶναι εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐμβαίνοντος. τούτου δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνικόν, ἡγουν τὸ ἔμβηθι, “ἔμβα” λέγει ὁ Κωμικός, καθὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰβηθι “κατάβα”.

*Note ἔμβητον, which for people nowadays is used in common speech, taken for the enthusiasm of a contest, as of the contestant from being outside entering into a contest, and of this the first singular, so for ἔμβηθι, “ἔμβα” says the comic poet, as also for κατὰβηθι “κατάβα”.*⁴

This relationship with contests and performance is perhaps confirmed by another case where it is found with an imperative, in an inscription at Ephesos which was first published thirty years ago by DIETER KNIBBE⁵. The text is inscribed down, and across the cross bar (lines 10 – 11) of a cross cut in relief on a rectangular marble panel. The spaces on either side of the cross are adorned with birds and vine leaves (see p. 133).

The interpretation of this text is difficult, especially without an archaeological context; but since it was first published much more comparable material has come to light. It is made up of a series of acclamations — a prayer to the archangel Michael, then a very standard acclamation of the fortune of the city, and then a series of exhortations to victory, apparently addressed to a young man, Margaretes. It may be a straightforward invocation of the archangel Michael, and the inscription may be some kind of *ex voto*; but the fact that the person concerned — Margaretes — rather than addressing the archangel, is himself addressed in the second part of the text, suggests to me that it is better understood as a tombstone. The decoration and style are appropriate to this, and could be fifth-sixth century⁶, the acclamations would fit a late fifth or sixth century date.

The man — or boy — commemorated, Margaretes, has a name which is more often found of performers than in every-day life. While it is attested of ‘ordinary’ people, it is used by gladiators⁷ and is found on contorniates representing dancers⁸. It was presumably adopted as an attractive stage-name — clearly so in the case of a dancer ‘given’ to the White faction at Constantinople in 490⁹. Margarito is also one of the names attributed to the actress Pelagia¹⁰. Whether this is a prayer for help to the living or

³ The imperative εἴσβα is used in the same way in the same text; cf. p. 88, ll. 28 – 36.

⁴ Eustathius, Commentary, 4, 754, l. 22.

⁵ Festschrift Fritz Eichler (1967) 96 – 102, with a good photograph; some modifications by H. ENGELMANN, ZPE 10 (1973) 86, whence BullEp 1973, 381; published most recently, from all these, as IvE IV 1357 (whence PHI 2970).

⁶ I am grateful for the observations of Dr. E. JAMES of the University of Sussex.

⁷ See P. SABBATINI TUMOLESI, Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell’Occidente Romano. 1. Roma (1988) no. 54; D. FRENCH, Two gladiatorial texts from Claudiopolis in Bithynia, EpigrAnat 13 (1989) 91 – 7, Text 1; C. ROUECHÉ, Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias (1993) no. 32.

⁸ A. ALFÖLDI, Die Kontorniat-Medaillons (1976 – 90) fig. 69.

⁹ Malalas, Chronographia, 386, 22, τὸν λεγόμενον Μαργαρίτην τὸν Κατζάμυν τὸν ἀπὸ Κυζίκου.

¹⁰ A. CAMERON, Porphyrius the Charioteer (1973) 174 and n. 6.

the dead, the wording of the text suggests strongly that Margaretes is a performer, being urged to go on and win, perhaps in a real competition or in his final contest, with death.

This text provides another reminder that we must not be seduced by the rhetoric of the church fathers into assuming that a career as a performer was incompatible with Christian faith¹¹. In this context, it is interesting to observe that on the stage of the theatre at Aphrodisias, in the sixth century, in the area normally only accessible to performers, a small area was decorated with frescoes which included at least two archangels, one of whom can definitely be identified as Michael¹². Those images may have been accompanied by acclamations, which now survive only in fragments¹³.

5 ἄ[γι-]
 ε [Μι-]
 χαή-
 λ βο-
 ήθη-
 cov
 Μαρ-
 γαρ-
 ήτη.
 10 νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῆς πόλεος
 κ(υρίο)υ καλὰς ἡμέρας ΑΙΝΡΙΓΓΙ
 κὲ
 τοῦ-
 τον
 15 τὸν
 ἀγῶ-
 να<ν>
 νικ-
 ᾱς
 20 κὲ c-
 τεφ-
 ανο-
 ὦσε·
 ἔνβ-
 25 α, νί-
 κα,
 πε-
 δά-
 ριν,
 30 θεὸ-
 ν ἔχ-
 ις με-
 τ' ἐc-
 οῦ.



Fig. 2: IvE IV 1357
(Photo: D. FEISSEL)

Line 10: ΚΑΛΑΧΗΜΕΙΑΚΟΙΑΡ pr.

Holy Michael help Margaretes! The fortune of the city triumphs! Then a line which it is hard to read or interpret. You win this contest also and you will be crowned. Come, win, boy! You have God with you.

¹¹ See ROUECHÉ (s. note 7) 27 – 28.

¹² R. CORMACK, The wall-painting of St. Michael in the theatre, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, edd. K.T. ERIM † — R.R.R. SMITH,

JRA Monograph 2 (1991) 109 – 122.

¹³ ROUECHÉ, *Late Antiquity* (s. note 1) no. 76, with CORMACK (s. note 12) 115 n. 12.

In the new text, however, the imperative ἔνβα stands alone, and seems to have the full force of ‘enter’. As we have seen, this sense seems to have theatrical associations; but here it is not being addressed to a performer, but to a proconsul. Phlegethius is already known to us, from another text at Ephesos, and one which illuminates the importance of acclamations in late antique life. The text was inscribed on a column at the south side of the Embolos, at the lower end. It was one of a group of columns originating from the Prytaneum, which were reused in an arcaded structure at the lower end of the Embolos in Late Antiquity; they were recognised by the excavators and restored to their original positions in the Prytaneum¹⁴. (fig. 3)

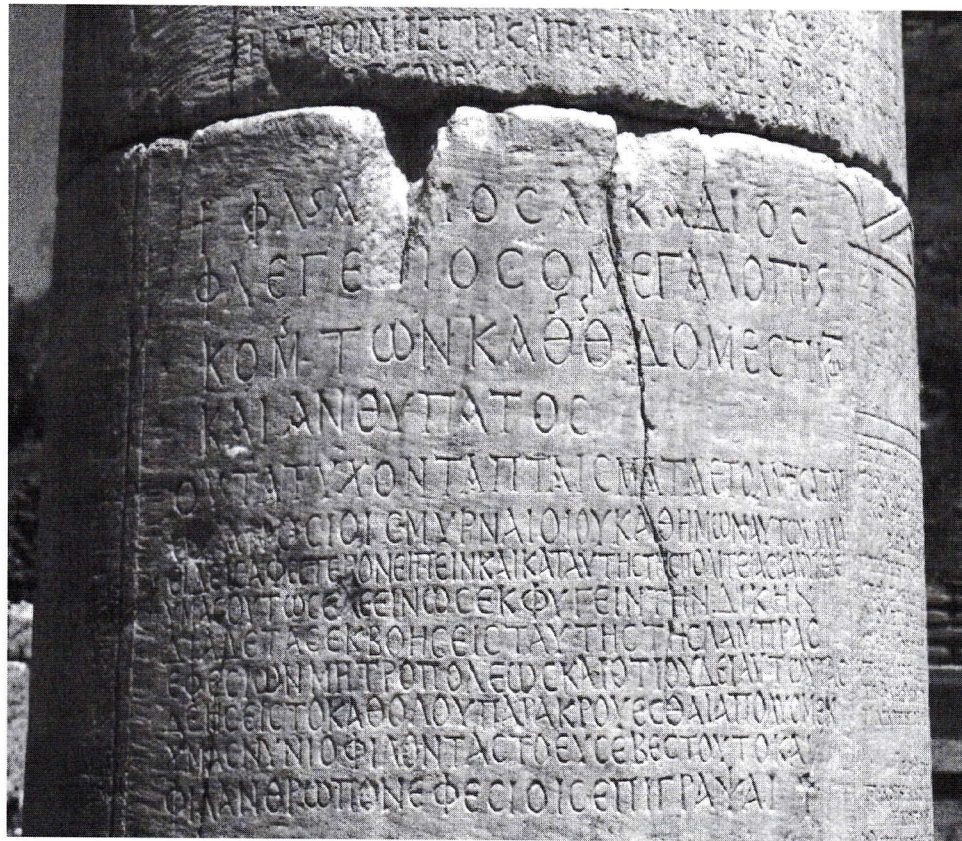


Fig. 3: IvE IV 1352

† Φλ(άβιος) Ἀ[ώ]ιος Ἀ[ρ]κάδιος
Φλεγέ[θ]ιος ὁ μεγαλοπρ(επέστατος)
κόμ(ης) τῶν καθ(ωσιωμένων) δομεστικῶ(ν)
καὶ ἀνθύπατος (vacat)

- 5 οὐ τὰ τυχόντα πταίσματα ἐτολμήσεται,
ὦ ἀνόσιοι Cμυρναῖοι, οὐ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλά –
εἰ δεῖ καφέστερον εἰπεῖν – καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ οὐκ ἔδει
ὕμᾱς οὕτως ἐλεεινῶς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν δίκην·
διὰ δὲ τὰς ἐκβοήσεις ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς
10 Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αὐτῶν τὰς
δεήσεις τὸ καθόλου παρακροῦεσθαι, ἀπολύομεν
ὕμᾱς νυνὶ ὀφίλοντας τὸ εὐσεβὲς τοῦτο καὶ
φιλάνθρωπον Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιγράψαι †

¹⁴ The text was first published, from HEBERDEY's notes, by H. GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure I* (1922) 100⁸; see also H. GRÉGOIRE, *Anatolian Studies Ramsay* (1923), *Miettes d'histoire byzantine*, 151 – 164,

154 – 158, whence *Année Epigraphique* 1924, 139; it was published most recently as IvE IV 1352 (whence PHI 2914), but no photograph has ever been published.

APPARATUS:

Line 1: A[.]IOOC. GRÉGOIRE (from OEHLER's copy of HEBERDEY's note) read A[ω]IOOC, and gives an interesting discussion of other unusual names at this period which offer a parallel. From the photograph this cannot be seen; but the space would suggest a double letter, or even two letters. IvE suggests "A[ξ]ioc, whence PLRE II.

Flavius A[fo]lius Arcadius Phlegethius the magnificentissimus count of the sacred domestics and proconsul: You have dared to commit exceptionally grave offences, oh impious men of Smyrna, not (only) against us ourselves but also — if it is necessary to speak more clearly — against the state itself; and you ought not to have had such a merciful escape from justice. But on account of the acclamations of this noble metropolis of the Ephesians, and because their requests should not be entirely resisted, we forgive you, who should ascribe this piety and generosity to the Ephesians.

The date of Phlegethius is not known. The name is unusual, and GRÉGOIRE wanted to identify him with a Magister Officiorum to whom Novel 21 of Theodosius II was addressed, in 441. But the editors of PLRE II pointed out that his title of *comes domesticorum*, which is probably honorary, suggested a date 'not before the late fifth century', and therefore assume two Phlegethii; JOHN MARTINDALE has confirmed (*per litteras*) that he would now suggest a late fifth or early sixth century date for Phlegethius 2. Another, anonymous, proconsul of Asia who was *vir inlustris comes privatarum*, mentioned in a law of 497 (CJ II.7.20), offers a parallel for his titlature, but this is not enough grounds for an identification¹⁵.

The interest of this inscription lies, of course, in the importance which it attributes to acclamations in the political process. Epigraphic discoveries at both Aphrodisias and Ephesus have added a great deal to our understanding of the functioning of acclamations in the life of two provincial capitals; and many of these inscribed acclamations appear to date from the late fifth century up to the early seventh. This text offers an important record of their use. The new inscription, by contrast, simply records a particular acclamation, and can be added to the large dossier of such texts from Ephesos. It seems very likely that this slogan — *enter your city* — was shouted on the occasion of Phlegethius' first arrival — his *adventus* — at Ephesus.

While the *adventus* ceremonies for emperors have been carefully studied¹⁶, as R. DELMAIRE has recently pointed out, less attention has been paid to the parallel ceremonies for the emperor's representatives — his images and his letters — and to what must have been the most regular form of *adventus* ceremonies in the provinces, for provincial governors¹⁷. Such ceremonies of *adventus* often involved acclamations at the gate of entry. ELENA MIRANDA is about to publish a group of such texts from a city gate at Hierapolis; another example is provided by the inscriptions at the Golden Gate in Constantinople¹⁸. At Ephesus, acclamations were inscribed on the 'Gate of Hadrian' (IvE IV 1192.3) and the gateway to the Marble Street (IvE VI 2090).

The re-use of the present text makes it impossible to say where it stood, but the wording clearly suggests a point of entry of some kind, where the proconsul would enter his city — and his province. By the mid-second century Ephesus had established the right, confirmed by Antoninus, to be the city where each new proconsul of Asia would first arrive¹⁹, that right confirms the status of the city, and is reflected in the acclamation — *enter your city*. The establishment of such a right in law reflects the importance attributed to the governor's *adventus*. Much of the discussion of *adventus* has drawn attention to the reflections of imperial *adventus* ceremonial in the liturgical and pictorial representations of the *adventus* of Christ. As we come to understand more of late antique ceremonial, its relevance to the development

¹⁵ PLRE II, Phlegethius 2.

¹⁶ See in particular SABINE MCCORMACK, Change and continuity in late antiquity: the ceremony of *adventus*, *Historia* 21 (1972) 721 – 52, and EADEM, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (1981); P. DUFRAIGNE, *Adventus Augusti*, *Adventus Christi* (1994).

¹⁷ Quelques aspects de la vie municipale au bas-empire à travers les textes patristiques et hagiographiques, *Splendidis-*

sima Civitas: études d'histoire romaine en hommage à François Jacques, edd. A. CHASTAGNOL — S. DEMOUGIN — C. LEPELLEY (1996) 39 – 48, especially 42 – 45. For a useful discussion of 'private' *adventus* ceremonies, see DUFRAIGNE (s. note 16) 83 – 7.

¹⁸ See R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine*² (1964) 270, and the references there.

¹⁹ Ulpian, *De officio proconsulis* 2142.5

of Christian liturgy becomes increasingly clear; but it may well be that the ceremonials of provincial cities had an even greater influence than the ceremonials observed at the imperial centres. All the accumulating fragments which are building up our understanding of civic and provincial ceremonial are, therefore, of particular interest.

This inscription, however, also draws attention to another aspect of acclamations. Since the ground-breaking studies of ALAN CAMERON²⁰, it has been possible to see how the usages of the theatre and the circus permeated 'political' ceremonial. Just as *νικῶ* is an appropriate acclamation for an emperor or the victor in a conquest, here we see another term which can apparently be addressed to a performer, and is here directed to a proconsul. It is extremely striking that in the very same city, and probably at about the same period, we find the same imperative addressed to Margaretes and to Phlegethius. This is another reminder that in understanding this period it can be very misleading to try to unravel the religious from the secular (as in the inscription of Margaretes) or the 'frivolous' from the 'serious'. Yet again, we are grateful to the inscriptions which force this reality upon us — and enormously grateful to a scholar who has devoted his life to making as many as possible of those inscriptions easily accessible to his colleagues.

²⁰ A. CAMERON, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (1973); *IDEM*, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (1976).